THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA By BICHARD HILDRETH, Vol. IV. Bro. pp. 704. Harper & Broshere.

with this volume, Mr. HILDRETH commences a new series of American History, embracing the eventful period from the organization of the Federal Government in 1789 to the close of Mr. Monroe's first Presidential term in 1821. The series is to be completed in three volumes, the first, devoted to the administration of Washington, the second to that of John Adams and Jefferson, and the third, including the administration of Madison, will bring the history down to the end of the

Sixteenth Congress. In executing this portion of his task, the historian is called on for the exercise of a higher order of faculties then has been required for his previous labors. The ground he has hitherto traversed was comparatively plain and easy of observation. The route was well ascertained,-filled with con spicuous landmarks,-clearly mapped out by the researches of former explorers,- and involving no difficulties which had not often been made the subject of profound discussion, and placed in a satisfactory light by the repeated examinations and comparisons of different inquirers. With the new epoch of our political history, a new path is marked out for the historian. He has to trace the progress of Federal legislation to its original source, -- to detect the seminal elements of parties in their earliest and faintest manifestations,-to separate nicely between the cunning of partisans and the wisdom of statesmen, -to bring out the permanent principles of national prosperity from the chaos of conflicting opinions,-and to present an impartial estimate of measures and of men, that are too nearly connected with present interests, to allow any but the calmest and most philosophic intellects to judge them without prejudice or passion.

We have no doubt that Mr. Hildreth has engaged in the discharge of his elevated trust with the sincerest intentions of holding the scales of historical justice with an even hand. His previous volumes assure us that he is proof against the blandishments of rhetoric. He will not sacrifice anything for the sake of picturesque effect. Nor is he in danger of being led away by his sympathies. He never yields to the magnetic enthusiam which is excited in most persons by the contemplation of nobleness and sublimity of character. His clear, cold eye looks calmly on the play of human passions, while he describes the result with as much indifference as if the actors in the grand drama belonged to an order of beings, in whom it would be folly to cherish an interest. In the course of the present volume, however, he betrays more frequent signs of emotion and preference, than he has heretofore exhibited: His impassive tranquility is occasionally disturbed. We cannot mistake the decided lean ings of his mind, in the pregnant political questions which convulsed the administration of Washington. His frank expression of his sympathies with the tenets of the Federalists, and of his strong aversion to the policy of Jefferson, amounting at times to a feeling of undisguised and bitter hostility, does honor to his moral courage, while the violent partisan of the opposite views will doubtless make it an occasion for strenuous quationing of his faithfulness to history. This is a point which we have no wish to discuss at present. The course adopted by Mr. Hildreth will certainly add to the piquancy of his volume, and to a great degree, redeem it from the charge of monotony and dulness which many readers have brought (without sufficient cause as we think) against his narrative of the Colonial and Revo lutionary times.

The literary character of this volume, in other respects, is certainly not inferior to that of the preceding portions of the history, and on some p indicates considerable improvement. As we have intimated, there is more humanity in the composition-there is also more variety-and more vivacity-the author now and then relieving the tedious details of legislation with specimens of accurate character-drawing and occasionally indulging his readers with a touch of the chaste and nervous eloquence which he seems to command at will. It may be objected that he spins out the debates in Congress to an excessive length, when he might have given us the gist of the arguments on both sides in a few comprehensive generalizations We should have been better satisfied with this ourselves. A compact analysis of the course of debate, retaining everything essential to a clear understanding of the principles at issue, and divested of all extraneous matter, would be more strictly within the province of the historian than the elaborate reports with which we are now furnished, and in our opinion would present a more intelligible view of the development of American legislation. The curious reader, who wishes to examine the subject more minutely, can easily resort to the original documents, although we are sorry to say he will find no clue to them in Mr. Hildreth's pages, who never condescends to refer to his authorities. We think this a signal defect in the previous volumes; but we perceive it is one which the anthor does not intend to remove.

Mr. Hildreth's style for the most part is strong, unaffected and lucid. He never aims at a display of fine writing. He does not give to his readers more than was bargained for in the outset, adding the fascination of taste to the satisfaction of the intellect. Hence his facts remain in the memory, while we forget the language in which they were presented. He does not delight the imagination with the liquid periods and melodious cadences which linger in our minds after the perusal of Washington Irving ; nor does he startle as with those brief, darting, electric sentences which flash from the fiery sketches of Bancroft; nor lull us into a soft intellectual passiveness by the pellucid, mild, meandering stream of fluent prose, which is so seductive in the elegant narrative of Prescott The power of Mr. Hildreth is derived from other sources. He is rugged, often barsh, sometimes exhibiting a dash of Mephistophelian cynicism, and easily betrayed into homely, colloquial expres. sions, which a fastidious taste would instantly reject; he is no word-painter, has no eye for the seathetic grouping of historical personages, and apparently no ear for the delicious harmonies of language : his taste in the coloring of style is un. pardonably Quakerish, arraying everything in a uniform of drab. But he is so free from affecta tion, so evidently intent on getting at the truth and imparting it to his reader-there is such an air of downright honesty in his statements-combined with such a sturdy robustness of intellectsuch clearness of perception and acuteness of discrimination,-that he inevitably wins your confi dence, and awakens your interest in his narrative and finally obtains a command over your mind, which, for those whose object in the perusal of history is the investigation of truth rather than the indulgence of an artistic taste, is not surpassed by many writers of more brilliant preten

As an example of the neatness and simplicity which are usually found in Mr. Hildreth's descriptions, we may quote a passage occurring in the commencement of the volume, relating the ob-

stacles attendant on THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FEDERAL CONGRESS. The Continental Congress has been accommodated in the old City Hall of New-York, situated on Wall at opposite Bond at, the sight now so magnificently occupied by the United States Cus-tom-House. But this building had fallen greatly to decay; the City had no funds in hand with

which to make repairs; the Continental Treasury was equally empty: and had it been otherwise, no avorum of the States could be obtained cometert to authorize the expenditure of anxious for the due accommodation of the Na-Congress every inducement to make New York its permanent seat, several wealthy citizens adits permanent seat, several wealthy citizens advanced on this emergency the sum of \$32,500. With these funds a remodeling and extensive repairs were at once commenced, and the renovated building, renamed "Federal Hall," was placed by the City Council at the disposal of the new Congress. The day appointed for that body to meet was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells, repeated at noon and at sunset. ringing of bells, repeated at noon and at sunset newhat to the mortification of the zealous Federalists, only eight Senators and thirteen Representatives made their appearancenot enough to form a quorum of either house Not having received any accession to their number, the Senators present issued, a few days after, a pressing circular letter to their absent colleagues. At the end of another week a second circular was issued; but the month had almost expired before either house could muster a quo-In the latter days of the Confederation, sad habits had been introduced of negligence and de lay in all that related to federal affairs. Want o punctuality was, indeed, far more excusable then than now. As yet public conveyances were rare, indeed almost unknown. The Continental Congress had lately authorized the Postmaster-General to contract for the transmission of the mail ver the great route along the sea coast by a l of stages, to carry passengers also; but this scheme, as yet, was very imperfectly carried out, and most of the Members were obliged to make way to New York slowly on horseback, or else by sea, at that time the usual and almost sole means of communication between New York and the extreme Southern States. At that early seaof the year, the roads in many places, and especially the fords of the rivers, were apt to be rendered impassable by floods—a topic in which the New-York newspapers found consolation for the tardiness of Congress in coming together. Add to this that, owing in some cases to the late day fixed for the election, in others to repeated failures of choice, a part of the Representatives were not yet chosen. It accorded with this gen-eral system of tardiness, that Federal Hall, not apleted, was still under the hands of the

An able and interesting sketch of the debates of the first tariff is given by Mr. Hildreth, presenting some facts in the history of our early legislation, which may not be familiar to the younger class of readers. The House did not wait for the inaugura tion of the President before the subject was brought up. Within two days after counting the votes the question was stated by Madison, in the first Committee of the Whole into which the House had resolved itself. He suggested the adoption of a temporary system of imposts, based on that proposed by the Continental Congress, and which hed been assented to by all the States except New-York. With this view he introduced a resolution enumerating certain articles as subjects for specific duties, the amount being left blank; proposing an ad valorem duty on other articles and a tunnage duty on vessels. The tariff which grew out of this debate still lies at the foundation of our existing revenue system-The points which have been made so prominent in our more recent politics were fully developed in the discussions at that time, with the single exception that the idea was not broached of a want of power in the Federal Government to lay duties for protection.

Passing over the Congressional Debates for a period of two years, we come to the Session of the Second Congress in 1791, in the City of Philadelphia. A lively sketch is presented by Mr. Hildreth of several of its leading members. MEMBERS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS

Though the greater part of the retiring Sena-tors had been reelected, some changes had taken place in that body. Preferring to confine himself to his duties as President of Columbia College, Johnson had resigned, and his seat as Senator

from Connecticut was filled by the venerable Sherman. Another new Member was George

Cabot, of Massachusetts, since Bowdoin's recent death the most distinguished merchant of New England. Bred originally a ship-meater, by sa-gacity in mercantile matters he had acquired an ample fortune, and being much more than a mere merchant, endowed with a vigorous and compre hensive understanding, at the same time a reader of books and an observer of men, few persons were better qualified for the difficult task of judi-cious legislation. Moses Robinson, once Gov-ernor and repeatedly Chief Justice of Vermont, appeared as one of the Senators for that new State: the other was Stephen W. Bradley, long a very active politician. But the most remarkable of the new Senators was Aaron Burr of New-York, successor to General Schuyler. There was majority of Federalists in the New-York Assembly sufficient to have secured the reelection of Schuyler; but the plain, downright, and not very ceremonious manners of the old General, placed him at decided disadvantage when compared with the artful, affable, and fascinating Burr. In the late gubernatorial contest Burr had supported the Anti-Clintonian candidate, and he doubtless succeeded in satisfying the Federalists that he, as well as Schuyler, was on their side. Burr's grandfather was a German, who had set riginally in Fairfield, in Connecticut; his father, minister of Newark, in New-Jersey, was the first President of Princeton College mother was a daughter of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. After graduating at Princeton at an early age, he had commenced the study of the law; but the war of the Revolution breaking out, he had joined the camp before Boston, and had followed Arnold in his expedition to Canada. Montgomery appointed him an Aid de Camp, and he stood at that General's side when he was killed in the assault on Quebec. He was after-ward an Aid de Camp to Putnam, in which capaci ty he served during the retreat from New-York.
Upon the organization of the permanent army he
was so fortunate as to obtain the command of one
of the New York battalions. Not thinking himself sufficiently noticed by Washington, who
seems to have early penetrated his character, he
conceived a bitter heatility against the Command. onceived a bitter hostility against the Command er in Chief, and actively participated in the in trigue of Conway and Millin. He also sided with Lee in the difficulty growing out of the battle of Monmouth, in which engagement Burr bore a part. After two active campaigns he resigned his commission and recommenced the study of the law, upon the practice of which he entered at New-York shortly after its evacuation by the British. An act had been passed by the Legisla ture just before the peace, and in anticipation o it, disqualifying from practice all attorneys and counselors who could not produce satisfactory certificates of Whig principles. This law remained in force for three or four years, and it enabled Burr, Hamilton, and other young advocates to ob-tain a run of practice which otherwise they might not have reached so early. Hamilton was indeed a very able lawyer, but Burr, though regarded as is rival, seems to have trusted more to subtle ties, finesse, and nice points of technicality, than to any enlarged application of more generous legal principles. He was soon elected to the State Legislature; but that post he did not long retain, having given offense to his constituents on some local question. Governor Clinton appointed him Attorney General, possibly with a view to conciliate a man whose political talent and influence were already distinguished. Clinton professed indeed, not to be influenced in his app to office by personal or party considerations, to which profession he acted up with more consist-ency than is always displayed by those who make The election of Burr to the Senate of the United States was perhaps a counterbid from the Federal side

The political parties of the country had been greatly modified since the session of the First Congress. This change could not fail to show itself in the course of legislation. The Federalists, from being mere supporters of the Federal Constitution, had become identified with the policy re commended by the Secretary of the Treasury The Anti Federalists on the other hand, had renounced their objections to the Constitution and subsided for the most part, into opponents of Hamilton and his financial system. This party, a minority in the House and yet more so in the Senate, now found an advocate and a leader in the very bosom of the Cabinet. He is introduced by Mr. Hildreth with the following elaborate portrai-

Gifted by nature with a penetrating understand ing, a lively fancy, and sensibilities quick and warm; endowed with powers of pleasing, joined to a desire to please, which made him, in the private circle, when surrounded by friends and admirers, one of the most agreeable of men. exmirers, one of the most agreeable of men; ex-ceedingly anxious to make a figure, yet far more desirous of applause than of power; pothesis, inclined to dogmatize, little disposed to argument or controversy, impatient of opposition, seeing everything so highly colored by his feelings as to be quite incapable of candor or justice toward those who differed from bim; adroit, sapple, and, where he had an object to accomplish, understanding well how to flatter and to capti vate: led by the warmth of his feelings to lay himself open to his friends, but toward the world at large cautious and shy: cast, both as to intellect and temperment, in a mold rather feminine than masculine, Jefferson had returned from France, strengthened and confirmed by his resi dence and associations there in those theoretical ideas of liberty and equality to which he had given utterance in the Declaration of Independ-

Though himself separated from the mass of the people by elegance of manners, refined tastes, and especially by philosophical opinions on the subject of religion, in political affairs Jefferson was disposed to allow a controlling, indeed absolute authority to the popular judgment. The many he thought to be always more honest and disinterested, and in questions where the public interests were concerned, more wise than the few, who might always be suspected of having private purposes of their own to subserve. Hence he was ever ready to allow even his most cherished theorical principles to drop into silence the moment he found them in conflict with the popular current. To sympathize with popular passions seemed to be his test of patriotism; to sail before the wind as a popular favorite, the great object of his ambition; and it was under the character of a condescending friend of the people that he rose first to be the head of a party, and then the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

We have next a picture of Mr. Jefferson's great antagonists.

JOHN ADAMS. The two men who stood most immediately and obviously in Jefferson's way were John Adams, the Vice-President, and Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury; men in character, temperament, and opinions as different from him as they were from each other. By dint of untiring energy, seconded by great natural abilities, and an unex-tinguishable thirst for eminence which brooked no superior and hardly an equal, Adams had risen from the condition of a country lawyer, the son of a poor farmer and mechanic, through various grades of public service, to the eminence which he nowheld. Nor did his aspirations stop short of the highest distinction in the power of the nation to bestow. Having risen by no paltry arts of popularity or intrigue, for which he was but little fitted, nor by any captivating charm of per-sonal manners, which he was very far from pos-sessing butowing everything to the respect which his powerful talents, his unwearied labors, and his great public services had inspired, he still de-sired to be what he always had been, a leader rather than a follower, rather to guide public opin-ion than merely to sail before it. He, too, had his political theories, very different from those of Jef-ferson—theories which he had not hesitated to set forth with a frankness very dangerous to popularity. Alarmed at the leveling principles, as he esteemed them, to which the progress of the French Revolution had given rise, he had lately published, in Fenno's United States Gazette, a series of "Discourses on Davila," in which his political views were enforced and explained, not a little to the disgust of Jefferson and others, who professed peculiar regard for popular rights. ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Much less of a scholar or a speculatist than either Jefferson or Adams, but a very sagacious observer of mankind, and possessed of practical talents of the highest order, Hamilton's theory of government seems to have been almost entirely founded on what had passed under his own obserfounded on what had passed under his own observation during the war of the Revolution and subsequently, previous to the adoption of the new Constitution. As Washington's confidential aid-decamp, and as a member of the Continental Congress after the peace, he had become very strongly impressed with the impossibility of duly providing for the public good, especially in times of war and danger, except by a government inof war and danger, except by a government in-vested with ample powers, and possessing means of putting those powers into vigorous exercise To give due strength to a government, it was necessary, in his opinion, not only to invest it on paper with sufficient legal authority, but to attach the most wealthy and influential part of the community to it by the ties of personal and pecuniary advantage: for, though himself remarkably disinadvantage: for, though himself remarkably distributes the acting under an exalted sense of personal honor and patriotic duty, Hamilton was inclined, like many other men of the world, to ascribe to motives of pecuniary and personal interest a somewhat greater influence over the course of events than they actually possess.— Having but little confidence either in the virtue or the judgment of the mass of mankind, he thought the administration of affairs most safe in the hands of a select few : nor in private conver sation did he disguise his opinion that, to save her liberties from foreign attack or intestine commo-tions, America might yet be driven into serious alterations of her Constitution, giving to it more of a monarchical and aristocratical cast. He had the sagacity to perceive, what subsequent experience has abundantly confirmed, that the Union had rather to dread resistance of the States to federal power than executive usurpation; but he was certainly mistaken in supposing that a Presi-dent and Senate for life or good behavior, such as he had suggested in the Federal Convention, could have given any additional strength to the government. That strength, under all elective systems, must depend on public confidence, and public confidence is best tested and secured by frequent appeals to the popular vote.

We then have a highly colored description of

JEFFERSON'S POLITICAL PREJUDICES. Though a great advocate for toleration and lib-erality in matters of religion, in politics Jefferson was a complete bigot. One single speculative error outweighed, in his estimation, the most de-One single speculative voted patriotism, the most unquestionable public services. Assuming to himself the office at once of spy and censor on his colleagues, he adopted the practics of setting down in a note book every heretical opinion carelessly dropped—every little piece of gossip reported to him by others which piece of gossip reported to him by others which might tend to convict his associates in the Cabi net of political infidelity—anecdotes recorded, no as instances of the speculative errors into whi the wisest and the best may fall, but carefully laid up as evidences against political rivals of set-tled designs hostile to the liberties of their coun-try. Nor was he content with merely making this remarkable record. After the lapse of twen times were passed away, and the reasons of the transactions act alone upon the judgment," such is his own account of the matter, he gave the whole a "calm perusal," and having cut out cer-tain parts because he had ascertained that they were "incorrect or doubtful," or because the were "merely personal or private," he prefixed characteristic preface to the rest, and left them to be published after his death, as proofs of the services he had rendered to his country in saving it from a monarchical and aristocratical conspiracy. It was against Hamilton that the bitterness of a hatred at once personal and political was most directed. The splendid reputation gained success of Hamilton's financial measures, fixing all eyes upon him as the leading spirit of the Government, though Jefferson nominally held the first place in the Cabinet; his great popularity thereby acquired with the mercantile eyed class; more than all, his weight and influence with Washington, excited in the mind of Jefferson a most violent antipathy, partly growing out of mere personal jealousy, partly based on im agined dangers to the liberties of the countrywho can tell in what precise proportions? All the measures adopted on Hamilton's recommendation, even those which he had himself concurred to bring about—as in the case of the assumption of the State debts-began to be seen by Jefferson through a most discolored medium. Overlooking the justice and the expediency of a provision for the national creditors and the great benefits to the country at large resulting from that measure, in his private correspondence, on which he prin-cipally relied for the diffusion of his political ideas he already began to denounce the entire funding system, especially the assumption of the State debts, as a mere piece of jugglery and corruption, intended to purchase up friends for the new Government, and especially for Hamilton, and designed to pave the way toward an aristocracy and

a monarchy. The whole controversy between Hamilton and Jefferson is related at great length, forming the | Subject, The Future Church,

most animated portions of the present volume A well digested parrative of the difficulties with France, of the Whisky Insurrection in Peansylvania, and of the Debate on Jay's Treaty occupies a large space, and gives a very favorable idea of the accurate research, clear sighted penetration, and vigorous common sense of the historian. As a trustworthy guide through the accumulated details of our political history, we are bound to commend Mr. Hildreth in no measured terms, leaving the harmonic picture of the progress of republican freedom in America to the constructive genius of other writers. With thanks for the pleasure and instruction we have received from this volume, we hope soon to meet the author again, in the recollection of the exciting political scenes which waited for the death of Washington and the commencement of a new century for their Providential development.

LECTURES.

Mr. Henry James's Lecture on the Past Church.

The Third Lecture by HENRY JAMES, Esq. in the Hall of the Stuyvesant Institute, was delivered on Friday evening before a large and profoundly attentive audience. The polished vigor with which Mr. James puts forth his intellectual audacities and the charm of his admirable elocution present strong attractions to a large class of intelligent listeners, who cannot be presumed to have any sympathies with the startling ideas which he advocates with such deep earnestness of conviction. The subject of the lecture was The Past Church, or Ritual Christianity.'

Mr. James commenced with the remark that the sectarian aspect of the visible Church incessantly excludes and extrudes many of the most religious minds. The form which the Gospel took at the hands of the Saviour and his Apostles was, that Jesus the crucified and risen man was the true Christ of God, and all they who believed this Gospel were declared his people. I believe, said Mr-J., most fully do I believe this Gospel. It represents to my understanding an infinite goodness and wisdom. It involves no mystery. It is the omplete antidote to darkness on the whole of human destiny, or of man's relations to God. For it imports that the Divine power and glory shall be manifested in man only when man shall have become emancipated from his natural and social thraldom, and made obedient exclusively to his inspirations. Just in proportion to my this universal truth, is my disgust at those shabby little queries which the various sects propose to

But because the sects are not respected, shall But because the sects are not respected, shall the Church suffer loss? By no means. The feeling is universal among those who repugn sectarian peculiarities, that they are not therefore less, but the more related to the living Church. It is always and simply ludicrous to hear persons of this class charged with infidelity by the sects. I am sure that no one making the charge would easily do so if he could anticipate the half compassionate, half-mirthful feeling it excites in these passionate, half-mirthful feeling it excites in those exposed to it. An esteemed clerical friend cently said to me in speaking of Socialism, "The Socialists must first all come into the Church, and then we will take care that all the reforms they ask for take place." I inquired of him, "What Church be meant? The Romish or Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or Baptist? "I mean none of these," he replied, "I mean the universal or invisible Church." "Ah," said I, "the Socialist will tell you that he is already in full communion of that Church, and that it is precisely therefore that he disclaims every impertinent shibboleth alike of Rome, Canterbury, or Geneva."

It is really so. Never was there a time, when the immense reality denoted by the Church found so immense reality denoted by the Church found so spontaneous a homage from cultivated intellect as at present. The rapidly approaching advent of a diviner life for man, is avouched by thousands of guileless souls cheefully singing their Nunc Dimittis. The temper of these persons too, as I have known them, toward the old Church, is destitute of acrimony. They originate no propaganda apart from the progress of science; they seek to turn no one away from the rites which the next has sanctified to his memory—they study seek to turn no one away from the rites which the past has sanctified to his memory—they study the beautiful meaning enclosed in these rites and ceremonies; and exhibit a serenity under misconception and reproach which claims the homage of a cordial respect.

age of a cordial respect.

Mr. James then proceeded to illustrate the true idea of the Church, as a dispensation for humanitary purposes, having for its ultimate end the elevation of universal man. While the whole world is losing all regard for mere ecclesiastical interests and the zeal in this direction is confined to a few of ficial persons and their followers within the Church, the great mass of the litular Church itself is ac tively intentupon the varied reforms of the day, and seeks in the glorious humanitary promise of the fu-

ture, the fulfilment of the mission of the Church.

It is impossible that they whose eyes have once been enlightened to discern the true powers of the world to come, to discern the profound humanitary substance which underlies and vitalizes all the shadows of Church and State, should ever prove recreant to the truth and go back again to the worship of mere symbols. At all events, it is impossible that any of the sectarian ideas of the Church should ever gain the empire of the human mind.

The intrinsic selfishness and impurity of the sectarian idea was then set forth in a series of arguments, which cannot be abridged without losing much of their appositeness and force. We e only one or two of the illustrations employed by the lecturer.

The sectarian dogmas, said he, place God in the attitude of exacting something from his own dependent creature; and they place the creature in meritorious attitude toward him, in the attitude of serving him for reward. Science demonstrates that the only becoming temper on our part toward the Divine is that of boundless exultation in the

exhaustless beneficence of his creation and of de-termined activity toward the fullest possible realization of it. Every day of the week the sun comes forth to illustrate the benignity of the Universal Father, and the waving of leaves, and the nurmuring of brooks, and the laughter of the hill-sides, and the ringing melody that ascends from the whole animal creation, and the myriad fold success of human hearts in the realm of traffor and inspired art, all attest and confirm the il-lustration. Much more eloquently even does the grander temple of the human heart proclaim the same benignity. For we find all of its various affections, when left to their unobstracted flow, ringing forth fruits of invariable joy and peace But on Sunday sectarianism denies all that a busy I recently attended, said Mr. J. the obsequies of

friend. The burden of the prayer by the minister was that God would give the survivors a realizing sense of sin. No petition met my ear, nor any shadow of petition that we might outgrow this puerile fear of death and look upon its pompous peremonial as a solemn cheat, but merely the iterate and reiterate desire that we might have a refound conviction of our sinfulness in God's ight. Such was the sole tenor of the exercises both precatory and hortatory. Meanwhile, a sullen gloom invested the assembly, and the face of the unconscious corpse, over which had gathered an expression of comely and placid repose amounting almost to sweetness, alone shone responsive to the hopeful texts of holy writ, which ever and anon gemmed the dismal night of the burial service. Yes, the face of the dead seemed actually to smile soft rebuke upon the surpliced infidelity which

gave it so cheerless a requiem.

The lecture closed with some remarks on the tendency of the Church at the present day. It is bound to assume an advanced position in accordance with the great humanitary idea of Christ, or decline before the light of science. Among us, it is wisely accommodating itself to the new spirit. The accendency of the democratic prin-ciple here modifies theology not less than other things. Having no establishment, our clergy can not control but must always follow the popular inspirations; unless indeed they become teachers of science, in which case, of course their eminent position would no longer be merely typical real. The tendency on all hands is to throwing off ecclesiastical responsibility, and the recognition of the individual consciousness in religion. This tendency will not halt until it become swallowed up in the distinctive genius of that new and better economy, call it Church or call it State, which is properly the unity and fulfilment of both, for its function is to bring down heaven to earth, or

what is the same thing sanctify the secular life of The next lecture will be on Taesday evening-

WASHINGTON. The French Spollation Claims Bill-Kossuth's

This bill is now on the Speaker's table of the

House, about eighteen from the top, several of

Prospects of Liberation. Correspondence of The Tribane.

Washington, Sunday, Feb. 16.

those in advance of it however are private bills which usually require but a few minutes conside ration, and when the House commences running down the Calendar it will shortly be reached. It has many warm friends, strenuous and ardent supporters but as it is so near the close of the session it is to be apprehended that those who have charge of the Appropriation bill,-who are opposed to this measure of justice, will make loud complaints of want of time and thus stave it off -Were it taken up in earnest it could be disposed of in a day and night session, which could very easily be spared. The degree of interest felt in this bill by the public generally may be judged by the extensive circulation of Senator Saura's lengthy speech, and by the fact that the brief and able exposition of Senator SEWARD has rapidly run through two very large editions; the second one of which was enlarged by copious notes and very handsomely got up. These claims, as Mr. Livingston remarks in his Senate Report of 1830, "run back to the earliest period of our existence as a nation." They have been pressed steadily for the last half century, more particularly, and now as a nation. that we are entering the second half of that cen-tury would it not be a graceful act to commemorate the epoch by such an act of honesty as their ? Why should young, free, rich, prosperous Americs, linger thus meanly, shirk from the payment of this sacred Revolutionary debt shirk from The meanness of the dishonest course thus far pursued stands out more boldly in the light of the act that this paltry debt was ours to pay, even had not France bought off her obligation to pay it by the relinquishments of valuable treaties. When did we ever pay France a dollar a single did we ever pay France a dollar, a single dollar in consideration of her vast expenditures n aid of America's freedom from the galling yoke of Great Britain! Never. No, not so much as a single farthing. Nor did we fulfill those treaties by which we agreed to protect her possessions on this Continent And how much did our "Independ No less than Three Hundred ence" cost France? Millions. And yet we have for more than half a century failed to pay a paltry sum of five millions due our own merchants, whose losses grew out of the partly incidental, and partly retaliatory, acts of France, while involved in a war with all It seems harsh to brand our own Gov-Europe. It seems harsh to brand our own Gov-ernment with the epithet of meanness: but if there ever was a paltry act deserving this epithet there ever was a patry act deserving this epithet it is certainly this. When debts of any character are due us by any Government, we are by no means slow to collect, and that by a resort to the most extreme measures to which creditors resort. We menaced our old friend and ally, France, with war, not many years since, for a sum no larger than that we are now called upon to pay. We battered down the very gates of Mexico, strewed her lands with desolation, and be smeared her fanes and her altars with the innocent blood of her women and children, apon the plea of debt. We lately threatened Portugal with a visit from our men of war in the Mediterranean, unless she paid some old claims the justice of which it would require more than a Machiavelli to explain.

Whatever of doubt with regard to this spolistion claim may remain in the minds of those who would not be convinced though an angel from heaven appeared in its behalf, it has been endorsed by so many better judges who have addreed the proofs as well as the arguments, that such doubts appear too flimsy for serious consideration. What should we say of such an arguments, the say of such an arguments of the say of such an argument political states. ray of names as these on an ordinary political paper, a "compromise pledge," for instance.— And very many of these have been earnest advocates of the claim as well as subscribers to its

justice.
G Washington, John Adams.
Thomas Jefferson, James Monsoe.
Chief Justice Mar Shall, Chas. Cotesworth Lowndes, S. C. Pinchney, Elbridge Gerry.
Robert L. Livings- Tallmadige, Conn. ton,
Tim'thy Pickering, Mitche Williams VansMur-Clinic Williams VansMur-Clinic Williams N. Dane, Gregg Wm. C. Preston, Corts, Marion, S. C. Dickso Findla Robert L. Livings- Tallmadige, Conn. ton, , Mitchell, N. Y.

- Clinton N. T.

Williams, N. C.

Bount, N. C.

Davis, Ky.

Gregg, Pa.

Eppes, Va.

Cutts, Mass.

Dickson Tenn.

Findlay, Pa

Tanney, N. H. Since 1826 Cushing, Ingersoll, Wm. H. Seward, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Chambers, Howard, Archer of Va.

Since '26, numberless committees of Congress have reported in its favor, but none against. The following State Legislatures have recom mended to Congress the settlement of this

claim: New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maryland, Louisiana, Arkansas.

Against this array in its favor the opposition all told does not appear formidable. Cambreleng, Wing Pickens, Jan. Hunter, (this session.) Wright, James K. Polk,

I understand that it appears from presentations which have been made to a committee that the bulk of this money will go to the West, South, and It appears that the descendants of South-west. the original claimants have gone principally in that direction. But what of this? Of what con uence is it in which direction the money goes? Or suppose it all went to Europe, our honor is not less involved in its payment, and it ought to be paid though we were stripped of the last dollar. The truth is, however, that the claim ants are scattered to a greater or less extent all over the Union. There lives an omnibus driver in this city to whom \$30,000 is justly due on the score of these claims, and yet he is obliged to drive members of Congress about in all weather who members of Congress about in all weather who are heaping poverty upon him and withholding justice. Can such things be in this prosperous and wealthy, this great model Republic, without exciting wonder, without calling forth anathemus—anathemus as deep as language can convey! The Democratic Review thinks it not un American to

rpeak thus:

"This continued denial of justice to these long-suffering claimants—this continued sponation of those whom we plundered when we pretended to protect—constitutes a kind of "Repudiation" in our view, differing from the worst that has been anywhere broached, only in its worse degree of cruely to the oppressed sufferers, and dishonor to its per-

petrators."

Let the vote upon this bill be watched and marked, and it will be found interesting to watch the after history of those whose names are upon the records, and not less so of those who dodge. The prospects of Kossuth's release and speedy arrival in this country, so far as this Government can do anything toward effecting that end, are exceedingly promising. Mr. Webster acted with American promptness in the matter, and it is already under way so far as the State Department. The Committee on Foreign Relations, in the Senate, acted with no less alacrity; and to-morrow we are to have a joint resolution offering one o our men of war in the Mediterranean to be placed at his service. The popular heart will joyfully respond to this action. Dr. TAYLOR, who honored spond to this action. me with a call last evening, is in high spirits at these bright prospects, and well may be be proud of his efficient agency in an endeavor so noble, so

well worthy an American.
WOUTER VON TWILLER.

The Turiff-The 'Democracy' on Gen. Scott-Ritchie's Printing Claim-South Carelina. Correspondence of The Tribune. Washington, Saturday, Feb. 15.

The chances of success which the River and Harbor bill now promises have revived the hones of the Pennsylvania and even of other friends of the Tariff. The different interests to be represented have not as yet, however, had any formal or satisfactory agreement as to the basis of any proposed modifications. Five per cent, even unrestricted as to quality, upon manufactured cotton goods is too trivial a matter for the serious consideration of New-England; and there appears, at present, small ground for belief in the success of such modifications as may be proposed. Some

rather curious voting is very possible, however, and the indications may be very deceptive.

It seems to be the general impression that the Opposition in the House will probably vote down any proposition looking to a Congressional compli-ment to Gen. Scott. What has been done this far has given uneasiness to many members of that body, and those National members of the opposition in the Senate who brought forward the proposition are reaping a harvest of-anything but thanks-for bringing this plague upon their

political brethren. To add to the injustice of Mr. Polk's Administration is deemed unsafe and impolitic; to bestow what is asked is deemed impossible. This matter, some how or other, uriously enough, seems to have got twisted up with Presidential questions. While the warm friends of the President are pressing his great claims to the succeeding nomination, it seems to be considered a question with the Opposition whether greater discord than exists now in the Whig ranks might not be produced by lending aid to Gen. Scott. This is becoming quite a respectable Gordian Knot: whether it is to be cut or untied remains to be seen.

or untied remains to be seen.

The disposition in the House does not appear favorable to father RITCHIE. Had the bid been honestly taken there would be no difficulty. That it was not is in overwhelming proof in the report of the Select Committee. When Congress adopted the Contract System it was with the object of getting the printing out of the bands of those who had long preyed upon the public treasury. But lo! when the bids had been taken by two irresponsible young men, Monsieur Tonson came again from behind the scenes, the sureties were signed by Thomas RITCHIE and the printing went to his office. If he loses upon his contract, executed in most discreditable style as to printing, paper, binding and all, it cannot be much and will be but a small portion of what he has previously made. But in any event, how Whigs can vote to sustain such an establishment as the "Union" newspaper, which has incessantly poured out upon the Whig party for years, a tissue of the lowest misrepresentations ever indulged in by a partisan press in any age or country, how they can vote to sustain a press so lost to every considerable of the country in the country is trained. eration of political honesty or veracity, is truly astonishing. Were the "Union" a diguished or even decent political opponent, as many northern ournals of its politics are, the Whig party would readily meet its utmost demands consistent with justice. How Whigs individually can do so now, as they are doing, is one of the seven wonders of the day. As many members of his own party are against him, his prospects are not flattering — There is no calculating the disposition of the

House, however, for a single day The Intelligencer of to-day contains its closing review of the Secession proceedings of South Carolina. The silence of the northern press upon this subject is doubtless the best possible policy, as it may teach that State, before it is too late, a lesson with reference to its own insignificance. There are doubtless few people in the North who are contemplating the actual fact that it is planging into disunion. The delegates to whom is re-ferred the question of its final action and the form of its future government, and who are pledged to secession, are elected, and it only remains to the Legislature to designate the time of their meet-

ing, which will probably be within a year.

As this is not nullification, but, secession,—actual revolution—the matter begins to assume a grave aspect. The South, however, are daily becoming more legal and reasonable, and it is to becoming more legal and reasonable, and it is to be hoped that her patriotic action through State Legislaures perhaps, may recall South Carolina to to her senses without the interference of the general Government. As nothing short of the annihilation of South Carolina could result from armed collision, such a calamity is to be avoided by every possible means. Her fate, however just, would at least create some degree of sympathy in both sections of the Union, and that should be avoided by a cautious Government. Wouter Vos Twiller.

CONGRESS.

The House-' Democracy' on Rivers and Harbors-Clingman on the Tariff-Jones on Claims.

Correspondence of The Tribune. WASHINGTON, Friday, Feb. 14.

The House has gone to work in earnest. I hardly know how they could show more determined activity, unless they pulled off their coats and assumed a boxing attitude. The River and Harbor Bill is under discussion. I hardly know what to say as to the prospects of its final passage : I think it will pass, but I may be mistaken, as I am not positive of the grounds from which I draw the conclusion. I must confess, I am nearly as much disgusted as amused by the opposition to the bill on party issues, not its merits. Mr. Morse, of La., to-day denounced all Demomocrats who supported the bill. He said if they were Democrats, he was not; he was a Whig, a Free Soiler; or any thing. And I am rather of the opinion that he is the latter; but after all there will be no danger of his kicking the party traces, out of the House—or rather, he is literally in them in the House, and his nerves are shocked at any man's daring to be anything but a partizan, what-ever may be the wants of his constituents or the country. Mr. Firch, of Indiana replied to Mr. Morse, claiming to be as good a Democrat as the as many other orthodox Democrats did. The dis-cussion was continued wholly between Demo-crats, (so called,) until I left the House, and their distinctions between constitutional and unconsti tutional appropriations for internal improvement, seemed to me very much like the difference be merce of the Country demands these improve ments, their constitutionality is implied, unless the Constitution has definitely made them unconstitutional; and the merits of the question rest upon its expediency. But the whole debate today was upon its party aspect or nature, whether it was or was not true Democracy. And the posi-tion assumed by the speakers, was, if it was true Democracy, it was constitutional; if it was true proved by the fathers of Democracy and not accepted by the party, it was unconstitutional. I do not know but I may be accused of misrepresenting the tenor of the debate, but I certainly give the impression it left on my mind; and I left by the debate of the left of the the House with the idea that the code of the De-mocratic party, was only the "Constitution made easy for new beginners."

Mr CLINGMAN (N. C.) had the floor for the eve ning session, but failing to be present, (as all the members did, with the exception of forty,) it left an opening for an amusing episode of private explanations. Mr. Congen, (New-York) it appeared had been agrieved and suffered from an accusation of dodging the vote on the Fugitive Slave Law. He explained the injustice of the accusation, that business of imperious necessity called him from Washington and he paired off for the whole week with Mr. McLane of Baltimore. In the course of his remarks he referred to the "Union Pledge," which brought Mr. BOKEE upon his feet to take exceptions to the allusions of Mr. Conger. Mr. Conger re-explained that he meant nothing derogatory to his honorable colleague's patriotism—that he referred to the Piedge as a matter of common report, and as such, subject to remark upon the floor as well as elsewhere. Mr. Bokee rejoined, and in the course of his remarks made some curt and offensive allusion to the "gentleman from Ohio." That brought Mr. Gib. warmly and to the point.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Jones, of Tennessee who had the floor) waited with much patient courtesy for the quieting of the troubled waters If Mr. Jones had only commenced in kind, I have no doubt but the "agitation" would have filled the House within the hour, but he commenced on a speech of duty to the Treasury in particular and the Country in general. But, not being blessed with the bump of calculation, I could not keep the run of the gentleman's statistical thousands tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands; and left the House without being certain whether the gentleman was counting round numbers on a wa-ger, or exposing the wolul extravagance of some preceding generations. Numerical figures and the National Treasury are the gentleman's pet hobbies, and he never permits an opportunity to pass for any claim on the Treasury, without countpass for any claim on the Freezery, without counting up what has been, disbursed, and opposing
any farther impoverishment of its collers. The
justice or injustice of the claim makes no difference; he opposed, from fixed principle or rule,
anything being paid from it. I do not suppose
he would receive his own pay, if it was drawn out individually, but as it comes in a lump, after it is out, he probably quiets his conscience, that it will not get back again, and he keep it as safely The gentlemen ought to have a brevet of honor.

appointing him Lieutenant Watch to all claims upon the Treasury.

We regret to learn that Rev. Mr. Neil, lately from Philadelphia, and now settled at Franklin, in Oakland County, was recently bitten by a rabid dog, and that his physicians entertain

no hopes of his recovery.
[Detroit (Mich.) Free Press Feb. 10.